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REPORT
FROM THE
COMMITTEE OF SECRECY,
OF THE
HOUSE OF LORDS
IN
IRELAND,

AS REPORTED BY THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE JOHN EARL OF CLARE, LORD
HIGH CHANCELLOR.

AUGUST 30, 1798.

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REPORT.

Die Jovis, 30^o Augusti, 1798^o.

THE Lord Chancellor from the Lords Committees appointed to examine the matters of the sealed-up papers received from the Commons on the 23d of July last, whose Lordships had power to send for persons, papers, and records, and to examine all such persons as they might summon before them in the most solemn manner, and to communicate from time to time with the Committee of Secrecy, appointed by the House of Commons, made the following Report.

MY LORDS,

THE Lords Committees appointed to examine the matters of the sealed-up papers received from the Commons on the 23d of July last, and to report the same as they shall appear to them to this House, have met and examined into the matters to them referred, and directed me to report to your Lordships as follows :

Your committee beg leave first to recall your Lordships attention to a report made to this House on the 7th of March, 1793, by the Lords Committees, who had been appointed to enquire into the causes of the disorders and disturbances which prevailed in this kingdom in the years 1792 and 1793, by which it appears, “ That
“ considerable bodies of Insurgents, then distinguished by the name
“ of Defenders, infested the counties of Meath, Louth, Cavan,
“ Monaghan, and other adjacent districts, during that period, and
“ that the measures which were then pursued by them, appeared to
“ be concerted with a degree of system and regularity, which proved

“ distinctly that they were directed by men of superior rank, who
“ stimulated the lower orders of the people to tumult and outrage,
“ as leading to the abolition of tythes, hearth, and county taxes,
“ and to the reduction of rents.—That during that period, very
“ considerable sums of money were levied upon the Roman Catho-
“ lics of this kingdom, under the authority of a committee of per-
“ sons of that persuasion, who then assumed, and seemed, in a
“ great degree, to succeed in the government and direction of the
“ whole body of Irish Catholics, and that out of the general fund
“ thus created, protection was extended to persons who were crimi-
“ nally prosecuted for the most daring and flagrant crimes.—That
“ during the same period, an unusual ferment disturbed several parts
“ of the northern province, particularly the town of Belfast, and
“ the county of Antrim, kept up and encouraged by every artifice
“ which turbulence and disaffection could suggest, and more parti-
“ cularly by the most licentious abuse of the press.—That the con-
“ duct of France was openly held up as an example for imitation,
“ that hopes and expectations were given of French assistance, by
“ a descent upon this kingdom, and that prayers had been publicly
“ offered up at Belfast, from the pulpit, for the success of the French
“ armies, in the presence of military bodies, which had been
“ newly levied and arrayed in that town, without any legal autho-
“ rity.—That several other military associations had in like manner
“ been entered into, in different parts of the province of Ulster,
“ composed of persons of a very inferior description, armed with-
“ out authority, and disciplined by officers of their own election.—
“ That these armed bodies were daily encreasing in numbers and
“ force, and had exerted their best endeavours to procure military
“ men of experience to command them. Some of them having
“ expressly stated, that there were men enough to be had, but that
“ officers were what they wanted.—That arms and gunpowder to
“ a very large amount, much above the common consumption, had
“ been recently sent to Belfast and Newry, and that orders had
“ been given for a much greater quantity, which could be wanted
“ only for military operations.—That at Belfast large bodies of men
“ in arms, assembled nightly, by candle light, to be drilled and
“ exercised, and that repeated attempts were made to seduce the
“ soldiery, which much to the honour of the King’s forces had pro-
“ ved ineffectual.—That at the same period a body of men had

“ been arrayed at Dublin, under the title of first battalion of national guards—their uniform copied from that of the French national guards, and marked with emblems of disaffection.—That the declared object of these military preparations was to procure a reform of parliament; but that the plain and palpable intention was to overawe the parliament and executive government, and to dictate to both.”

Your committee next beg leave to recall your Lordships attention to a report made to the House on the 12th of May, 1797, by the Lords Committees, appointed to examine the matters of the sealed-up papers received from the Commons on the 4th of the same month, by which it appears, “ That the system of treason which had been established in the year 1792, was then much matured and extended under the influence and direction of numerous affiliated societies, calling themselves United Irishmen, in conjunction with the associated body of Defenders.—That a traitorous correspondence and communication between the leaders and directors of the societies of United Irishmen and the Executive Directory of the French Republic had been carried on between the month of June 1795, and the month of January 1796, and that the means by which it had been carried on were distinctly proved.”

Your Committee are now enabled more fully and accurately to state to your Lordships the nature and extent of the treason which so justly alarmed your Lordships in 1793, and which has recently broken forth in open rebellion, having examined four persons who were members of the Executive Directory of the Irish Revolutionary Union, namely, Arthur O'Connor, Esq. who was lately tried at Maidstone for high treason, William James M'Nevin, doctor of physic, Thomas Addis Emmett, barrister at law, and Oliver Bond, lately convicted of treason, all of whom have acknowledged themselves to have been confidential leaders and directors of the Irish Union, and that their object was, to effect a revolution in this kingdom, by seducing his Majesty's subjects from their allegiance, under a variety of specious pretences, and by introducing a French army into their country, to assist them in this most foul and unnatural project.

The original constitution of the traitorous societies of United Irishmen, their gradual progress to open rebellion, and the means

by which they hoped to succeed in subverting the existing establishments in church and state, have been so fully detailed in former reports upon the subject appearing on the journals, and by the report recently made by the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, which has been communicated to your Lordships, that your Committee have forborn now to enter so minutely into this disgusting subject, as they might otherwise have considered a duty incumbent on them; they have therefore taken up the detail of it from that period, when the conspiracy was so matured, as to have for its avowed object the array and levy of a regular military force, in every part of the kingdom, for the purpose of assisting the French, if they should be enabled to make a descent upon this country; or, if foreign assistance could not be procured, of making a General Insurrection, in the hope of subverting the monarchy and ecclesiastical establishment, of seizing the persons, and confiscating the property of his Majesty's loyal subjects, and of establishing a Republican Government, guaranteed by the power of France.—It appears to your Committee, that the organization, as it is called, by which the Directory of the Irish Union was enabled to levy a revolutionary army, was completed in the province of Ulster on the 10th of May, 1795. That the scheme of extending it to the other provinces was adopted at an early period by the Irish Directory; but it does not appear to your committee, that it made any considerable progress beyond the northern province, before the autumn of 1796, when emissaries were sent into the province of Leinster to propagate the system. It appeared distinctly to your committee, that the stale pretexs of Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation were found ineffectual for the seduction of the people of that province, and therefore the emissaries of treason, who had undertaken it, in order to prevail with them to adopt the system of organization, first represented that it was necessary in their own defence, as their Protestant fellow-subjects had entered into a solemn league and covenant to destroy them, having sworn to wade up to their knees in Popish blood.

The people were next taught to believe that their organization would lead to the abolition of tithes, and to a distribution of property, inasmuch as they would become members of a democracy which would govern the country; and under the influence of these false, wicked, and artful suggestions, the system of organization appears to have

been gradually extended by the emissaries of the Irish Directory into the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught.—The better to impose on the people, the system was first represented to be purely for civil or political purposes. The inferior societies at their original institution consisted each of thirty-six members, they were however, afterwards reduced to twelve—these twelve chose a secretary and treasurer, and the secretaries of five of these societies formed what was called a lower baronial committee, which had the immediate direction and superintendence of the five societies who thus contributed to its institution. From each lower baronial committee thus constituted, one member was delegated to an upper baronial committee, which in like manner assumed and exercised the superintendence and direction of all the lower baronial committees in the several counties.—The next superior committees were, in populous towns, distinguished by the name of district committees, and in counties by the name of county committees, and were composed of members delegated by the upper baronials. Each upper baronial committee delegated one of its members to the district or county committee, and these district or county committees had the superintendence and direction of all the upper baronials, who contributed to their institution.—Having thus organized the several counties and populous towns, a subordinate directory was erected in each of the four provinces, composed of two members, or three, according to the extent and population of the districts which they represented, who were delegated to a provincial committee, which had the immediate direction and superintendence of the several county and district committees in each of the four provinces; and a General Executive Directory composed of five persons, was elected by the provincial directories, but the election was so managed that none but the secretaries of the provincials knew on whom the election fell—It was made by ballot, but not reported to the electors, the appointment was notified only to those on whom the election devolved, and the Executive Directory thus composed, assumed and exercised the supreme and uncontrouled command of the whole body of the Union.

The manner of communicating the orders issued by the Executive Directory, was peculiarly calculated to baffle detection. One member of the Executive alone communicated with one member of each provincial committee or directory,—The order was transmitted by

him to the secretary of each county or district committee in his province,—The secretaries of the county and district committees communicated with the secretaries of the upper baronials in each county, they communicated with the secretaries of the lower baronial committees, who gave the order to the secretaries of each subordinate committee, by whom it was given to the several inferior members of the Union.—It appears to your committee, that the leaders and directors of this conspiracy having completed this their revolutionary system in the province of Ulster, so early as the 10th of May, 1795; and having made considerable progress in establishing it in the Autumn and Winter of 1796, in the province of Leinster, proceeded at that period to convert it into a *military* shape and form, for the undisguised project of rebellion; and this project has been distinctly and unequivocally acknowledged by the aforesaid Arthur O'Connor, William James M'Nevin, Thomas-Addis Emmett, and Oliver Bond, who have confessed themselves to have been leading and active members of this conspiracy, as will appear more distinctly to your Lordships from the confessions which they have made before your committee, annexed by way of Appendix to this Report.

From the confessions of these persons it appears to your committee, that the *military* organization, as they termed it, was grafted on the civil. That the secretary of each subordinate society composed of twelve, was appointed their petty or non-commissioned officer, that the delegate of five societies to a lower baronial committee was commonly appointed Captain of a company, composed of the five societies who had so delegated him, and who made up the number of sixty privates; and that the delegate of ten lower baronials to the upper or district committee, was commonly appointed Colonel of a battalion, which was thus composed of six hundred men—That the Colonels of battalions in each county sent in the names of three persons to the Executive Directory of the Union, one of whom was appointed by them Adjutant-General of the county, whose duty it was to receive and communicate military orders from the Executive to the Colonels of battalions, and in general to act as officers of the revolutionary staff.—In addition to this establishment, it appears that a military committee was appointed by the Executive Directory to prepare a regular plan for assisting a French army, if any such should make a landing in this kingdom, by directing the national military force, as it was called, to co-operate with them; or to

form a regular plan of insurrection in case it should be ordered, without waiting for French assistance; and it appears to your committee, that a regular and digested plan of insurrection was actually formed and reduced to writing, in April 1797, which was given up for that time only from the representations of the Executive Directory of the Union that speedy and effectual assistance was promised from France. For the purpose of arming this body, orders were given by the Irish Directory, that every member of the Union who had the means, should provide himself with fire-arms and ammunition; and that such persons, whose means would not afford any other weapons, should provide themselves with pikes—which order appeared to your committee to have been executed in a very great extent throughout the provinces of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster—in the province of Connaught the emissaries of the Union seem not to have been enabled to proceed farther in their system of treason than by administering oaths to the people; their farther progress seems to have been obstructed by the vigorous exertions of the Executive Government, when rebellion broke forth in acts of open hostility. It appears to your committee, that the Directory of the Union having thus established a Revolutionary Government in themselves over a great body of the people, issued an order forbidding the use of any article of consumption liable to the Excise duties, which order was stated to your committee by the aforesaid persons, who had been members of the Republican Directory, to have been generally and implicitly obeyed.---And it farther appeared to your committee, from the testimony of the same persons, or some of them, that an order had been also issued by the same directory to stop the currency of bank notes, and to forbid the purchase of quit-rents payable to the crown, which, by an act of this session, have been vested in the Lords' Commissioners of the Treasury, to be sold for the service of the current year, with a threat on the part of the Directory, that such a sale would be disallowed at the approaching Revolution, as an anticipation of its resources.

Your committee having thus detailed the system of Treason and Rebellion established within this kingdom, which has been so acknowledged by some of the most active and confidential members of the Irish Revolutionary Directory, will now proceed to open to your Lordships their dark and desperate designs, which have been con-

fessed by them, of betraying their country to a rapacious and merciless foreign enemy.

It appears to your committee, that early in the year 1796, a proposition was made from the Executive Directory of the French Republic, by Theobald-Wolfe Tone, late a barrister of this country, who absconded shortly after the conviction of a man of the name of Jackson, for treason, in the year 1794, to the Executive Directory of the Irish Union, that a French army should be sent to Ireland to assist the Republicans of this country in subverting the Monarchy, and separating Ireland from the British Crown. The aforesaid Messrs. Arthur O'Connor, Thomas-Addis Emmett, William M'Nevin, and Oliver Bond, all of whom have been members of the Irish Republican Directory, have deposed to your committee, that this was the first communication within their knowledge which took place between the Irish and the French Directories, and that the proposition originally moved from France; Your committee, however, are of opinion, that the communication thus made to the Irish Directory through Mr. Tone, must have taken place in consequence of an application originating with some members of the Irish Union, inasmuch as it appears by the Report of the Secret Committee of this House, made in the last session of Parliament, that a messenger had been dispatched by the society of United Irishmen to the Executive Directory of the French Republic, upon a treasonable mission, between the month of June, 1795, and the month of January, 1796, at which time the messenger so sent had returned to Ireland; and your committee have strong reason to believe, that Edward John Lewins, who now is and has been for a considerable time the accredited resident Ambassador of the Irish Rebellious Union to the French Republic, was the person thus dispatched in the summer of 1795. It appears to your committee, that the proposition so made by the French Directory, of assistance to the rebels of this kingdom, was taken into consideration by the Executive Directory of the Irish Union, immediately after it was communicated to them, that they did agree to accept the proffered assistance, and that their determination was made known to the Directory of the French Republic by a special messenger; and your Committee have strong reason to believe, that the invasion of this kingdom, which was afterwards attempted, was fully arranged at an interview which took place in Switzerland in the summer of 1796, near the French

frontier, between Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the aforesaid Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and General Hoche. It appears to your Committee, that in the month of October or November, 1796, the hostile armament which soon after appeared in Bantry Bay, was announced to the Irish Directory by a special messenger dispatched from France, who was also instructed to enquire into the state of preparation in which this country stood, which army was then stated to the Irish Directory to consist of 15,000 troops, together with a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition intended for the use of the Irish Republican Union: in a few days after the departure of the messenger who had been thus sent to announce the speedy arrival of this armament on the coasts of this kingdom; it appears to your Committee, that a letter from France was received by the Irish Directory, which was considered by them as authentic, stating, that the projected descent was postponed for some months, and to this circumstance it has been fairly acknowledged to your Committee, by one of the Irish Directory, that this country was indebted for the good conduct of the people in the province of Munster, when the enemy appeared in Bantry Bay. He has confessed that these contradictory communications threw the Irish Directory off their guard, in consequence of which they omitted to prepare the people for the reception of the enemy. He has confessed that the people were loyal, because they were left to themselves. It appears to your Committee, that after the attempt to invade this kingdom in December, 1796, had failed, the Irish Directory renewed their solicitations to France for assistance, and it was determined by them to establish a regular communication and correspondence with the Directory of France, by a resident accredited Irish Minister at Paris;—Accordingly it appears to your Committee, that in April, 1797, Edward-John Lewins of this city, attorney at law, was dispatched from hence, under the assumed name of Thompson, to act as the Minister of the Irish Republican Directory at Paris. That he went by way of Hamburgh, where he obtained a letter of credence from the French Minister to General Hoche, with whom he had a conference at Franckfort, from whence he proceeded to Paris, where he has continued to reside from that time, as the minister of the Executive Directory of the Republic of Ireland. It appears to your Committee, that in June, 1797, a second messenger, Doctor William-James M'Nevin, was dispatched by the

same Directory to Paris, with more precise instructions than they were enabled to give to Lewins, and that M'Nevin also took Hamburgh in his way, where finding some difficulty in obtaining a passport from Rheyhart the French Minister to enable him to go to Paris, he presented a memoir in writing to that Minister, containing the substance of his instructions from his employers, to be transmitted to the Directory of the French Republic. M'Nevin has stated to your Committee the principal points of this memoir, in which it was recommended particularly to the Directory of the French Republic, on their next attack upon this kingdom, rather to make a landing at Oysterhaven than at Bantry, as the reduction of the city of Cork would be thereby considerably facilitated—and he has stated, that it also contained every species of information which occurred to the Irish Directory as useful to the enemy in their projected invasion of this kingdom, the particulars of which your Committee forbear further to detail, as they have annexed the said M'Nevin's confession made to them by way of Appendix to this Report. It appears to your Committee, that the said M'Nevin having obtained a passport from the French Minister at Hamburgh, soon after the delivery of his Memoir to him, proceeded directly to Paris, where he had several conferences with some of the Ministers of the French Republic, in which he pressed strongly upon them the advantages of a second armament against this kingdom, in which an additional supply of arms was represented as necessary, from the seizure which had been made, by order of Government, of arms which had been collected for rebellion in the northern province; and the expences of this armament, as well as of that which had already failed, he undertook, for the Irish Directory, should be defrayed on the establishment of a Republic in Ireland: and in these conferences it appears to your Committee, that it was strongly impressed upon the French Directory to make the separation of Ireland from the kingdom of Great Britain, an indispensable condition of any treaty of peace which might be concluded in consequence of the negotiation which then depended at Lisle: the better to impress his arguments, a second written Memoir was presented by the said M'Nevin, enforcing as strongly as he could every thing which he had theretofore urged to encourage the invasion of this kingdom by a French force, and to induce the Directory of the French Republic to continue the war with Great Britain, until Ireland should be

separated from the British Crown ; and it appears to your Committee, that M'Nevin was further instructed to negotiate a loan of half a million in France or Spain for the Irish Directory, on the security of the Revolution which they meditated, but that in this object of his mission he failed altogether. It appears to your Committee that immediately after the negotiation at Lisle was broken off, information of it was sent from France to the Irish Directory, with assurances that the French Government would never abandon the cause of the Irish Union, nor make peace with Great Britain, until the separation of Ireland from the British crown was effected ; and with fresh assurances of a speedy invasion, which have frequently been renewed since that period. It appears to your Committee that the said M'Nevin returned to this kingdom in October 1797, when he made his report to the Irish Directory of the result of his mission, and that they might rely with confidence on the promised succours from France ; and it has also appeared to your Committee that in July or August 1797, the Irish Directory received a dispatch from their Minister at Paris, announcing the Dutch armament in the Texel intended against this kingdom, which was baffled and discomfited by the ever memorable and persevering valour of the British fleet commanded by Lord-Duncan. It appears to your Committee that three several dispatches have been received by the Irish Directory from their Minister at Paris since October 1797 ; the two first contained a renewal generally of the former assurances of friendship and support given by the Directory of the French Republic ; the last announced that the projected invasion of Ireland would be made in the month of April 1798. And it appears to your Committee that a dispatch for the Directory of the French Republic earnestly pressing for the promised succours was made up by the Irish Directory, late in December 1797, or early in January 1798, which one of them undertook to have conveyed to France : but that the attempt failed. It has been stated to your Committee by one of the Rebel Directory of Ireland who was privy to this act of treason, that the dispatch was not to be sent through Great Britain ; but he did not explain to your Committee any reason on which this assertion was founded, nor any other route by which the messenger was to make his way to France. The several persons afore said who have so confessed themselves to have been members of the Executive Revolutionary Directory of the

Irish Rebels and acknowledged their traitorous correspondence and connection with the Directory of the French Republic, have endeavoured to palliate this branch of their treason by ascribing it, first to their disapprobation of an act of Parliament passed in the year 1796 to prevent insurrection, next to their disappointment in obtaining a Parliamentary Reform, and lastly by representing their disinclination to negotiate with France for a greater force than might enable them to subvert the monarchy and retain the Government of this Country in their own hands.

The falsehood and absurdity of these pretences are so manifest that your Committee would have thought it unbecoming to advert to them in their report, if these avowed Traitors to their King and Country had not in part learned thus to palliate their treason from persons of a very different description in Great Britain and Ireland, who fatally for the peace of this kingdom and the security of the British empire, have during the progress of this most foul and unnatural Rebellion, from utter ignorance and misinformation on the subject, as your Committee must presume, publicly and repeatedly palliated, if not justified, that system of treason which had well nigh involved this once happy and flourishing kingdom in all the miseries of the French Revolution. With respect to the Insurrection Act your Committee have only to observe that it passed into a law on the 24th of March 1796, and was not put into execution before the fourteenth of November 1796, on which day the first proclamation, which issued under the provisions of it, bears date, and that the introduction of it into the House of Commons was long subsequent to the period when it appears that the connection and correspondence of the Irish Union with the Directory of the French Republic first commenced; and that it was enacted in consequence of a system of midnight murder, robbery and outrage which began in 1792, and was so matured in 1796 under the influence and direction of the Irish Union as nearly to depopulate a very considerable district in two of the provinces, of every loyal and peaceable inhabitant of it. With respect to Parliamentary Reform your Committee have to observe that it was distinctly acknowledged by the persons who in their own phrase have taken upon them to think for the People, that no Reform of Parliament will satisfy them which does not necessarily involve in it, the subversion of all ecclesiastical establishments Protestant and Popish, and the gradual sepa-

ration of this kingdom from the British Crown ; and that no plan of reform will satisfy them short of an House of Commons purely Democratic. It was further alledged by the several persons who so acknowledged their traitorous connection with France, that the immediate cause of their establishing a resident agent at Paris, was the rejection of a plan of reform which was proposed in 1797 in the House of Commons, which plan they said would have satisfied the People. But the palpable falsehood of this assertion appears by the journals of the House of Commons ; for these persons have all confessed that their resident agent was dispatched by them to Paris in April 1797, with instructions to negotiate a treaty with the Directory of France ; and the proposition for Parliamentary Reform, to the rejection of which they pretend to ascribe the mission of Lewins, was not made till the fifteenth of May 1797. As to Catholic Emancipation (as it is called) it was admitted *by them all* to have been a mere pretence from the first establishment of the Irish Union, and that if they had been enabled to succeed in their plan of Reform and Revolution it would have involved in it equally the destruction of the Protestant and Popish religion---The said M'Nevin having distinctly acknowledged that the intention was to abolish all church establishment, and not to have any established religion, and that, for his own part, he would as soon establish the Mahometan as the Popish religion, though he was himself a Roman Catholic.

With respect to their disinclination to negotiate for a French force to be sent into this kingdom of sufficient magnitude to conquer it—the idea of setting bounds to the ambition and rapacity of that power, if once enabled to establish itself here, is too absurd to deserve any notice ; but it appears to your Committee, that the Directory of France have therefore declined to send any force to this country which will not enable them to dictate such terms to it as they may think fit, although it appears to have been urged to them, on the part of the Irish Rebels, particularly by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, that the best expedient for accomplishing a Revolution here would be, to dispatch fast sailing frigates to the coast with small bodies of troops and considerable supplies of arms and military stores, together with officers qualified to discipline the Irish peasantry ; but from a letter supposed to be written from Paris by Lewins, the Irish agent to the said Lord Edward Fitzgerald, which

he read, shortly before his arrest, to John Cormick, a Colonel in the Rebel army of Dublin, it appears that the Directory of France disapproved of any such plan of carrying *their* object—the terms of the letter are: “The trustees have refused to advance the 5000l. on the security, they will not make any partial advance till they have the *whole sum* ready.”

Upon a review of this subject, of the evidence which has been collected, and of all those facts of notoriety which have taken place in this kingdom for the last eight years, your Committee feel themselves fully warranted to state, that there has been, during the whole of that period, a seditious and treasonable faction in this country, whose object has been to subvert the Constitution in Church and State, and to separate Ireland from the British Crown, by inculcating the principles, and adopting the means which were successfully employed to abolish the Religion, extirpate the Nobility, and subvert the Monarchy of France.

Your Committee here allude to the addresses which were forwarded at an early period, from this faction to the French National Assembly, to their commemorations of French Festivals, particularly the 14th of July, to their attempts made to pervert the loyal institution of Volunteers to the purposes of Rebellion, by reviving it on the system of the French National Guards; to the institution of the original societies of United Irishmen, their various seditious and treasonable publications in favour of the French and Republican system, vilyfying and degrading the Government and Parliament of their own country, particularly by representing the House of Commons, as it is constituted, not to be a legitimate branch of the Legislature, that it was in its original formation a violation of the rights of the people, and has continued to be an usurpation on them; to their persevering industry in issuing and circulating these and all other publications at the cheapest rate amongst the lower orders of the people, which could alienate their minds from the duty of allegiance, and inculcate the principles of insubordination, revolt and irreligion, and to their attempts, in imitation of the French Revolutionists, to form a National Convention.

Your Committee further allude to the system of organization which they have already detailed, which appears to them to have been formed by this faction when their open attempts to subvert the Constitution were frustrated by the Convention Act; and to the

secret obligations which they imposed upon their associates, to elude detection and punishment.

Your Committee farther allude to the measures which were pursued by the same faction to intimidate the resident gentlemen of the country, by midnight attacks, in order to drive them from their houses, or to enforce their connivance or support, a course which your Committee understand was pursued with fatal success in France; and to the impudent falsehood and calumnies propagated with similar industry by the same faction, and by their partizans, representing the means to which the Government and Parliament were compelled to resort, for the suppression of midnight robbery and murder, and for the discomfiture of rebellion, as the source of these complicated evils.

Your Committee farther allude to the insidious address used by the same faction, in turning to their purposes the religious feuds, prejudices, and distinctions of the country, which were revived principally by their wicked machinations; at one time flattering the passions and hopes of the higher order of the Catholics, at the moment in which they meditated their destruction, and at another, stimulating the lower ranks to indiscriminate acts of outrage and vengeance against their loyal fellow subjects.

Your Committee farther allude to the plan formed by the same faction, of arraying and regimenting the whole mass of the people, of supplying them with arms and ammunition forced from the loyal, and of establishing in every part of the country manufactories of pikes to be distributed amongst the lowest ranks of the people.

Your Committee farther allude to the early disposition which appeared in the leaders of the same faction to correspond with the ruling powers of France, to obtain French assistance in their revolutionary projects, and to the regular system which they afterwards established, for connecting themselves with the Executive Directory of the French Republic, wherein they appear to have acted as the ruling power of the country, negotiating treaties and loans of money with foreign states.

Your Committee farther allude to the repeated attempts which have been made by the same faction to seduce the King's troops of all descriptions from their allegiance, and their attempts to deter his Majesty's loyal subjects from enrolling themselves in the yeomanry

corps; to their plans of insurrection, massacre and confiscation, which have been clearly proved against some of their leaders, who have been convicted of treason by due course of law, and have been confessed by others of them before your Committee; and above all, to the desperate project of the same faction to corrupt the youth of the country, by introducing their organized system of treason into the University; which attempt was happily frustrated by the timely interposition of the visitors of Trinity College, and by the high spirit of honour and loyalty of the great body of students in that learned seminary.

Your Committee farther allude to the various insurrections which were meditated, as well as those which have actually taken place; to the late destructive Rebellion, and the present Invasion by a French force, which your Committee feel themselves warranted in stating accurately to correspond with the plan of revolutionizing this country, which was recommended by Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

It appears to your Committee, that the Government and Legislature being sensible of the designs thus meditated against the Constitution of this kingdom, felt themselves bound to resist every demand which was made upon them by the same faction, with a view to effect their traitorous purposes; and as it appears from the confession of some of the most leading and notorious traitors engaged in this conspiracy, that what they termed Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, were considered as the surest means of accomplishing their rebellious projects, your Committee cannot but applaud the wisdom and discretion of Parliament in withholding their assent to such wild and fatal concessions. If any thing was wanting in proof of their wisdom, it is supplied by a resolution entered into by the rebel provincial Committees of Ulster and Leinster on the 19th February 1798, the day on which a proposition was made to your Lordships of concession and conciliation to the people, as a probable measure to tranquilize the country. This resolution was agreed to in the same words and on the same day, 19th February 1798, by two provincial committees, one assembled at Armagh, the other at Dublin, it has been authenticated to your Committee, and appears to have been officially reported to the Executive Directory of the rebellious Union, and is in the following words—
“ Resolved, that we will pay no attention whatever to any attempt

“ that may be made by either House of Parliament to divert
“ the public mind from the grand object we have in view, as
“ nothing short of the complete emancipation of our country will
“ satisfy us.”

On the whole, your Committee attribute the salvation of this kingdom to the vigorous and decisive measures of the Executive Government, adopted in March 1797, and pursued from the same period; and to the firmness of Parliament, who, always disposed to promote the welfare and happiness of the people, have evinced a determined resolution never to yield to the artifices of traitors, what is intended only for the subversion of the Constitution—But your Committee think it their bounden duty to state to your Lordships, that although it appears to them that the system of treason and rebellion which had been established, is for the present considerably shaken, yet that having fatally taken deep root in the country, it will require unceasing vigilance and attention, in every department of the State, to guard against the revival of it.

Your Committee have to lament deeply the facility with which the lower orders of the people may be seduced from their allegiance, and cannot but represent to your Lordships their decided opinion, that no effort should remain untried, to open their eyes to the evils which they have invariably suffered by yielding to seduction, and to the wicked artifices of that traitorous association, which has already involved them in extreme and complicated miseries.

Your Committee have thought it their duty to annex by way of Appendix to this Report, the confessions of their treasons made on oath, by some of the most notorious and leading traitors, who have been engaged in this conspiracy; and who have thrown themselves on His Majesty's clemency.

And your Committee beg leave also to refer your Lordships to the Report of the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons, which will be found to contain most interesting and important details upon this subject, all of which are fully illustrated and proved in the Appendix annexed to their Report.

APPENDIX.

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A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

Examination of John Hughes.

FRIDAY, 3d AUGUST, 1798.

John Hughes of Belfast, sworn.

Says about five years ago, in the year 1793, he was admitted a member of the first society of United Irishmen in Belfast; the society consisted of about 70 of the leading people in business in Belfast, such as Mr. M'Cabe, Mr. Boyd, Mr. Watt, and persons of that description. There was four or five other societies of the same kind then in Belfast. There was no oath on admission at that time; the members took a test only; he did not attend much to the society, and the system of 1793 fell into disuse.

About July, 1796, he became a member of a society (which regenerated under the present system of the United Irishmen, in Belfast; it was called the first society of United Irishmen in Belfast; Robert Orr, then Chandler in Belfast, administered the oath on his admission; the oath he took is exactly the same as that which is set out in the printed constitutions. That society consisted of the following persons, namely, the said Robert Orr, Thomas Richardson, — Browne, and two or three other persons whose names he did not know, and to whom he was and is yet an utter stranger. He supposes he was brought by Orr to that society, because the other members of it were strangers to him, for at that time it was necessary that six United Irishmen should be present when a new member was sworn. Soon after he formed a society of United Irishmen himself in Belfast.—That society consisted of the follow-

ing persons, namely, Mr. Robert Hunter, of Belfast, broker; John Tisdal, of Belfast, notary public; James Maclean, of Belfast, watch-maker; Henry Hazelet, of Belfast, merchant; Samuel Maclean, of Belfast, merchant; Thomas M'Donnel, of Belfast, grocer; James Luke, of Belfast, linen factor; Hugh Crawford, of Belfast, merchant; William Thomson, of Belfast, linen merchant; Adam M'Lean, of Belfast, woollen draper; Walter Crawford, of Belfast, iron merchant; Hugh Dunlap, of Belfast, builder; and William Hogg, of Belfast, linen factor.

He was secretary to the society and brought the prayer-book to swear in the members, they took the book, and he also furnished them with the constitution, and they took the oath at the table.—After the expiration of his office of secretary to the society, which was about three months after he had formed it, he did not attend regularly, and was not an active member.—In the month of November, 1796, Bartholomew Teeling, then of Dundalk, linen merchant, met him in Belfast; he had been well acquainted with Teeling before that time, and each knew the other to be an United Irishman. Teeling asked him if he could spare a fortnight or three weeks to go to Dublin for the purpose of promoting and extending the societies of United Irishmen there; he did not understand that Teeling then held any office in the system, but that he was acting from zeal in the cause; he consented to go to Dublin for the purpose; he did not stipulate for being paid or reimbursed his expences.—He did not receive any letters of introduction from Teeling, but Teeling directed him verbally to call upon Edward John Lewins, of Beresford-street, Dublin, and to communicate with him upon the best means of extending the system of United Irishmen in Dublin.—It was part of the system to avoid writing as much as possible, and no person was employed in the confidential business or missions of the society, whose character was not a sufficient voucher for him.—He went to Dublin accordingly and called upon Lewins. He told Lewins, that Mr. Teeling had directed him to call upon him, in order to be informed of the situation and the progress of the societies in Dublin, that he might (if he could be useful) assist in promoting and extending them. Lewins told him, that the societies were gaining ground in Dublin and extending in the country, and Lewins (upon consideration) was of opinion, that he could not be useful in Dublin, as his acquaintance was very limited there.—He visited Lewins generally once a day whilst he remained in Dublin, and frequently dined with him. The company at his table were generally Clergymen, and some of them Foreigners; he thinks it likely they were Priests.—He staid in Dublin about three weeks at that time.—Teeling came to Dublin whilst he was there, and lodged in the same house with him, the Belfast Hotel in Capel-street.—Teeling staid about three days in Dublin at that time, and nothing particular passed between them there.—He

did not attend or sit in any society of United Irishmen during the time he staid in Dublin.

He returned to Belfast in December 1796. He was ill with a rheumatism for some time after his return to Belfast, and was not at the town meeting which was held in consequence of the French being in Bantry Bay.—He did not attend the societies, from motives of caution, but spoke to the young men who were concerned, in the day-time in the street, or when they called at his house to ask his opinion.—He continued such cautious conduct till shortly before the Lent Assizes 1797, when Mr. James M'Guckin the Attorney, requested him to go to Dublin in order to get a licence for Counsellor Curran to be concerned for the prisoners then in the several goals on the north East Circuit, charged as United Irishmen.—He accordingly went to Dublin, and at the desire of Mr. M'Guckin waited upon Mr. Curran, to know whether he would attend as counsel for the prisoners at the assizes.—Mr. Curran said he would, but would expect to receive one hundred guineas as a fee for each and every town he should be desired to go to.—He told Mr. Curran he should have the money, and he paid him fifty pounds as a retaining fee, and appointed him to attend at Monaghan assizes first, and he would there be informed what other towns he should be required to attend at.—His general directions from M'Guchen were to get Curran down, on as cheap terms as he could, but to get him down at all events.—He did not attend at Monaghan, or Armagh assizes, but he attended at the then ensuing assizes at Carrickfergus.—Mr. Francis Jordon of Belfast, merchant, was treasurer for the county of Antrim, and collected the money.—Has heard most of the gentlemen in Belfast subscribed, that Cunningham Gregg paid twenty guineas, Charles Rankin paid twenty guineas, William Sinclaire paid twenty guineas, Robert Thompson paid ten guineas for himself, five guineas for his son, and five guineas for his daughter.—Never heard that the Sub-sheriff of Antrim received any money from the prisoners or their agent, but heard that Hugh M'Key, Sub-sheriff of the county of Down, was paid thirty guineas for returning a partial pannel, and that Alexander Lowry, of Linnen Hill, paid him the money, viz. ten guineas before the trials came on, and twenty guineas after the assizes were over.—Believes the subscriptions for the county of Antrim then amounted to seven hundred pounds and upwards, and the subscriptions for the county of Down amounted to nine hundred pounds and upwards. Alexander Lowry was the treasurer for Down, he repaid him the money he had advanced, viz. the fifty pounds that he had paid to Mr. Curran as a retaining fee, and about two hundred pounds that he had paid for licences for Mr. Curran.—He understood then in every conversation he had, that Down and Antrim were prepared to rise and prevent any capital conviction being executed.—At the Lent assizes of Antrim or Down, Lowry and Teeling requested him to

meet them in Dublin early in June following; they did not acquaint him upon what business they desired to see him in Dublin; he supposed it was to state to people in Dublin, the situation of Belfast, or such other part of the neighbourhood as he was acquainted with. ---He consented to meet them in Dublin.---A few days afterwards he received a note from Mr. John Magennis of Balealy, desiring him to see him immediately at Balealy. He received this note on a Saturday. He went to Balealy on the next day and met Magennis. Magennis told him it would be necessary for him to go to Dublin, where he would meet Lowry and Teeling and other friends, but that he must first take an obligation, Magennis then administered an oath to him that he would not mention the names of any of the persons he should be introduced to, or with whom he should communicate in Dublin. He took that oath, and on same day set out from Balealy to Banbridge where he took a place in the mail coach for Dublin, where he arrived the next morning; this was some days before the fifth of June, 1797. He met Lowry and Teeling in Dublin, they asked him if he had seen Magennis. He told them he had. Lowry and Teeling then informed him that there was to be a national meeting in Dublin at that time, of delegates from the different provinces of Ireland under the organization of United Irishmen, in order to receive a general return of the strength of the United Irishmen, and to determine whether an insurrection would be then practicable, and Lowry and Teeling told him the reason they desired him to meet them in Dublin was, to give his opinion of the strength and readiness of Down and Antrim to aid the insurrection, so far as he was capable of judging. He said his opinion was, that as the people were in a great measure disarmed at that time, the majority of them would not rise or join the insurrection. Teeling said his opinion was otherwise; he said Louth was anxious to rise: Lowry said Down was also anxious to rise. Lowry and Teeling afterwards told him that the national meeting had taken place at John Jackson's in Church-street, Dublin, and that the delegates had agreed to proceed to action. Teeling shewed him a map of Ireland at his (Teeling's) lodgings in Aungier-street, on which the plan of the insurrection was described, and the points marked to which certain numbers of men were to be brought.---He understood that the map so marked, had been prepared by some Irish officers who had been in the Austrian service, who expressed their opinion decidedly, that the people were not in a state of preparation to make a successful insurrection, being deficient in arms and ammunition.---The delegates left Dublin in order to raise their respective counties, and to take the field. They collected the Colonels in each county in order to give them directions for bringing out their regiments; the Colonels of the county of Antrim refused to come forward; the colonels of the county of Down agreed to bring their regiments forward; the other counties in Ulster were

disinclined to come forward, and therefore the intended insurrection did not take place.—Lowry told him what had passed at the meeting of the Down Colonels, and he understood the result of the applications to the Colonels of the other counties, from conversations with many people in Belfast at that time.—Whilst he was in Dublin in June, 1797, Teeling invited him to breakfast one morning at his lodgings in Aungier-street, and told him he should see some friends; he went there accordingly, and met at breakfast there, and after breakfast on the same day, at other lodgings which Teeling had in the Munster Hotel, in Cope-street, the following persons, John Magenis, of Palealy, in the county of Down; Mr. Tony M'Cann, of Dundalk; Mr. Samuel Turner; John Byrne, of Union Lodge, near Dundalk; Mr. Patrick Byrne, who lives near Union Lodge; Colonel James Plunket; Alexander Lowry, and Mr. Andrew Cumming of the county of Galway, and Dr. M'Nevin.—The conversation turned upon the state of the country, and its preparation and fitness at that time to begin the insurrection; in the course of it, the opinions of the before mentioned persons differed, some of them pressed for the insurrection commencing immediately, particularly Teeling, Lowry, and M'Cann; some of the others were of opinion, that however Ulster might be ready to rise; yet the other provinces were not in a sufficient degree of forwardness or preparation for rising. He met the above-mentioned persons at several other times during his stay in Dublin in June, 1797; and their conversations were generally upon the state of Ireland, and to the import before mentioned.—He left Dublin and returned to Belfast on or before the fourteenth day of June.—He attended a meeting at Randalstown, which was held within about four days of that time; the meeting consisted of Teeling, Lowry, Robert Moore, of Derry, Iron Monger, (as he believes his christian name and trade to be) and Colonel James Plunket; he attended said meeting by the direction of Lowry and Teeling to hear the report of the Colonels of the county of Antrim; the report was brought to the meeting (by a person of the name of Dunn, as he believes) who was clerk to Bartly, Black, and Co. of Larne, accompanied by the Rev. Arthur M'Mahon, of Hollywood.—The report from the Colonels was read by Dunn. The first resolution was, as he best recollects, that it was imprudent to act at that time, without foreign aid, but that if the county of Down would act, a part of the Antrim Colonels who could bring out nine or ten thousand men, would act with Down.—The meeting broke up in consequence of the division amongst the Antrim Colonels.—The Rev. Arthur M'Mahon told the meeting, that he had been sent by the Colonels of the county of Down, to state to the Colonels of the county of Antrim who had met at Park-gate that day, that they (the Colonels of Down) were willing to rise,

and that he had delivered such the message of the Down Colonels to the Antrim Colonels.---M'Mahon was then a member of the Ulster Provincial Committee, and he told him that he had been one of the seven Colonels of the county of Down who had been selected and appointed leaders for said county; and he also told him that he (M'Mahon) was a member of the National Executive.---Teeling left Randalstown with him on Tuesday, they came together to Shane's Castle, and slept there that night, and got to Belfast on Wednesday.---Teeling slept at his house on said Wednesday, and on next day he and Teeling went to Ballynahinch, where they met M'Mahon and Lowry at Armstrong's Inn.---There was to have been a meeting of the leaders of Down and Antrim on that day at Ballynahinch, but they did not come, and Teeling and Lowry left Ballynahinch determined to go to France, as it would not be safe for them to remain longer in this country.---He returned home that night.---M'Mahon was informed on his road home (as he heard) that he would be taken; and he, Robert Rollo Read, Hastings Mason, once an officer in the Downshire Militia, and John Magenis, took boat at Bangor and got over to Scotland, and afterwards M'Mahon got to France where he still is.

From June to November, 1797, his private affairs became embarrassed, and he stopped payment in November, and a commission of bankruptcy issued against him some time afterwards.---He did not attend any civil or military meeting of United Irishmen from June, 1797, till March, 1798, when he surrendered himself under the commission in Dublin.

He went to Dublin in March, 1798, and staid two days; the time for his final examination was enlarged till the twenty-first of April; he went to Dublin on the twentieth of April, and remained there about nine days.---He called on Samuel Neilson, walked with him to Mr. Cormick, a feather merchant, in Thomas-street.---He was introduced by Neilson to Cormick in the office.---Cormick asked them to go up stairs; he and Neilson went up stairs and found Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Lawless, the Surgeon playing at billiards.---He had been introduced to Lord Edward about a year before by Teeling; he was a stranger to Lawless; staid about an hour; no particular conversations; was invited to dine there that day, and did so; the company were Lord Edward, Lawless, Neilson, Cormick, and his wife.---The conversation turned upon the state of the country, and the violent measures of government in letting the army loose.---The company were all of opinion, that there was then no chance of the people resisting by force with any success.---He was also introduced by Gordon, who had been in Newgate, and Robert Orr, of Belfast, Chandler, to Mr. Rattican, the timber merchant at the corner of Thomas-street.---Rattican talked to him on the state of the country and of the city of Dublin, and told him that they would begin the insurrection

in Dublin by liberating the prisoners in Kilmainham.---Rattican shewed him a plan of the intended attack upon Kilmainham.---Whilst he was in Dublin, in April, he dined with Neilson at the Brazen Head.---Next day Neilson called him up at five o'clock, and they went to Sweetman's, near Judge Chamberlaine's to breakfast; Sweetman was then in prison, but Neilson lived in his house.---Neilson took Sweetman's carriage to Mr. Grattan's, and brought him along with him.---When they got to Mr. Grattan's, Neilson told him he had something to say to Mr. Grattan in private, and desired him to take a walk in the domain.---Neilson however introduced him to Mr. Grattan first; and Mr. Grattan ordered a servant to attend him to shew him the grounds.---He returned in about half an hour.---Went into Mr. Grattan's library.---Neilson and Grattan were there together.---Grattan asked a variety of questions touching the state of the country in the North; how many families had been driven out and how many houses burned by the government or the Orange Men?---Grattan said he supposed he was an United Irishman; he said he was.---Grattan asked him how many United Irishmen were in the province? he said he reckoned 126,000.---Grattan asked how many Orange Men there were? he said about 12,000.---Grattan made no particular answer.---Neilson and he left Grattan's about twelve in the day; they walked to their carriage which was at Enniskerry; he asked Neilson what had passed between Grattan and him.---Neilson evaded the question, but said generally that he had gone down to Grattan to ask him whether he would come forward, and that he had sworn him.---That Grattan promised to meet him in Dublin before the next Tuesday.---He left Dublin that evening and returned to Belfast.---He has known the reverend Steele Dickson of Portaferry for two years intimately.---Saw him at the assizes of Antrim and Down at Lent assizes 1797.---He saw him acting with Lowry, Turner and Teeling as one of the committee for conducting the prisoners defence.---Nicholas Magin called on him with a message from Doctor Dickson that Dickson was going to Ballynahinch to remain there till Tuesday, and that he would be at Mr. Pottinger's till seven o'clock of that evening.---Dickson called upon him Friday the first of June at his house in Belfast, and told him that the colonels of the United Irish regiments in the county of Down had had a meeting in a field on the day before, as Mr. Magin had stated, that twenty-three of them had agreed to fight, and commence the rebellion provided the county of Antrim and the other counties of Ulster, as he believes, would act with them; and as he (Dickson) knew there was to have been a meeting of the colonels of the county of Antrim that day, (viz. the first of June) Dickson wished to know whether he had heard any thing from it. He said he had not heard of the meeting.---He knew there was to be such a meeting; Hunter told him so. Dickson said

he would go out to Mr. Pottinger's that evening, and requested he would send him intelligence of what should be done in the Antrim meeting; that he would go from Mr. Pottinger's to Balle, where he was to preach on Sunday, from thence he would go to Ballynahinch and remain there till Wednesday.

On the Sunday, Mr. Keane, of Finlay's Bank, came from Dublin, and asked him where Dr. Dickson was.---He told Keane he would find him at Ballynahinch---Keane went there on Monday, as he believes.

On Friday the 1st of June, Dickson told him that he was one of the adjutant generals of the United Irishmen's forces in the county of Down, and that he (Dickson) would go to Ballynahinch and remain there till Wednesday, as it was a central place, from which he could issue his orders to his officers.---Dickson told him that the reason why he would remain at Ballynahinch till Wednesday was, that the Antrim colonels had adjourned till the Tuesday, and that he could receive their determination in Ballynahinch on Wednesday.

In February last, when the prisoners were trying at the Commission, priest Quigley introduced him to citizen Baily, who was an officer in the East-India Company's service, and lived near Canterbury, and also to the younger Binns from England; thinks his name is Benjamin.

Binns told him he had distributed most of the printed addresses, entitled, "United Britons to the United Irishmen," and gave him a copy of it, and directed him to print an addition of them---He printed one thousand of them, and the one now produced to him is a copy of that which Binns delivered to him---Mr. John Caldwell, of Belfast, paid him for printing the edition; as the copies were wrought off, he sent them to Mr. Caldwell---Caldwell paid three guineas to him for the printing.

He heard a Mr. Bonham came with Baily and Binns from London, and was the delegate from England to Ireland mentioned in the paper---He never saw Mr. Bonham---Either Binns or Baily told him that the address was written by a Mr. Cosgrave, of London---John Caldwell, of Belfast, managed a lottery; Caldwell told him that he had been appointed treasurer for the lottery; that it was to consist of two thousand tickets, at one guinea each, the highest prize 300l.---the profits to be applied towards the general system of United Irishmen.---The first immediate want of money was to send up and support witnesses on the trials in Dublin.

Q. You have said that you were introduced to Mr. Grattan by Samuel Neilson at his house at Tinnahinch, in April last---Recollect yourself, and say whether you can speak with certainty as to that fact?

A. I certainly can---About the 28th of April last, I went to Mr. Grattan's at Tinnahinch with Samuel Neilson; on going into the house we were shewed into the library.---Neilson introduced

me to Mr. Grattan, and I soon after walked out, and left them alone for full half an hour---I saw a printed constitution of the United Irishmen in the room.

Q. Can you say whether Mr. Grattan knew it to be the constitution of United Irishmen?

A. I can---for he asked me some questions about it.---He asked me also a variety of questions about the state of the North---When we were going away, I heard Mr. Grattan tell Neilson that he would be in town on or before the Tuesday following; and I understood from Neilson that Mr. Grattan had visited him in prison; and on our return to town, Neilson told me he had sworn Mr. Grattan.

Neilson and I breakfasted that morning at the country house of Sweetman, who was then in prison, and went from thence to Mr. Grattan's in Sweetman's carriage.

No. II.

The Address of the United Britons to the United Irishmen, proved and alluded to in the Evidence of John Hughes.

United Britons to the United Irishmen.

FELLOW-MEN!

Anxious to dissipate those prejudices which a mistaken and interested policy has artfully diffused, to prevent an UNION of sentiment and mutuality of opinion from being held by the people of England and Ireland; we, in the name of the former, (with whose sentiments we are acquainted, and whose confidence we possess) declare, that we will by every possible means promote the EMANCIPATION OF BOTH COUNTRIES. To forward this great object, we offer you our confidence, and in return demand yours.

Though labouring under the yoke of the same oppressors, the Sister Countries have been differently treated. Ireland has always been the object of direct and open violence, England of fraud; Ireland has been robbed, England has been cheated. One uniform plan, DIVISION, has been carried on in both. Sacrificed as Ireland has been to the ambition of England, the idea of her being treated as a FREE Country was too gross to be obtruded upon the meanest understanding, but England, whose avarice was flattered by the despicable lure of exclusive trade, greedily swallowed the bait. She was taught to believe that Riches flowed upon her, while Poverty was secretly insinuating itself into her very vitals.

Amidst mock contentions for LIBERTY and real ones for plunder, She vainly imagined herself FREE, and was thereby induced to pay the interest of a Debt, of greater amount than the value of the whole Landed property of the Country, without reflecting that Bankruptcy however late must be the consequence of an over-stretched credit---THAT BANKRUPTCY HAS ARRIVED.

The Religious dissensions between *Catholic* and *Protestant* in Ireland (whose opinions admit of a real distinction,) and the party squabbles between *Whig* and *Tory* in England (whose political ones admit of none) were assiduously fomented; the People were divided about the *shadow* till they lost the *substance*. The plan of oppression was systematically directed throughout both countries to the same object, though in apparent opposition. In Ireland Revenue was only raised to be lavished in unmerited pensions, without the insult of pretended National advantage; in England the veil of fraud was necessary to cheat the people of large sums under the plausible pretext of public necessity. The undisguised oppressions of Ireland, by rendering subsistence precarious to the Poor, have made her a constant hot bed for the satellites of Tyranny; but in England occasional crops could only be raised when the flame of war unusually forced the soil. This marked distinction in the treatment of the Countries, has produced as marked a difference in the characters of the two Nations; Ireland has acquired that of manly openness, England that of mean disguise.

England though abused with forms has never been without sincere friends to substantial LIBERTY. Among them a number of dark and designing characters have always intruded: and their conduct has furnished such a tissue of apostacy, that general apathy had nearly succeeded general distrust.

Various political Societies have been instituted for the purpose of REFORM, but of these, few could boast purity of Principles, or integrity of Leaders. Formerly *Richmond* headed the votaries of Universal Suffrage, *Fox* those of Representation by Householders, and *Pitt* those who wished to disfranchise the Corrupt Boroughs, to throw their proportion of Representation into the Counties; but these have vanished. The Society of the FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE, and that for CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION, have discontinued their exertions. The LONDON CORRESPONDING, and other Societies in UNION with it, have arisen upon their ruins, and as universal good is their basis, we doubt not, but, supported by Numbers and Principles, they will not be wanting in the hour of danger.

The IRISH, always an heroic People, had, during the American War, become an armed Nation. They took up Arms for Defence, and undertook the cause of REFORM for Security. ENGLAND, likewise, engaged in the cause of REFORM, but her efforts were weak, as she had not endured sufficient to convince her of the ne-

cessity of UNION. The efforts of a number of eminent Persons in both Countries in the cause of FREEDOM, were insufficient, because Prejudice yet prevailed, and Men were not awakened to their just Rights and true Interests.

The Apostacy of several Leaders in the Public cause, added to the famous Coalition, smothered for a long time the flame of LIBERTY; 'till the FRENCH REVOLUTION again fanned its dying embers into a glow, which, we hope and trust, will never be extinguished.

The conduct of the two Countries, on this important event displayed a striking contrast. IRELAND, who by her arms, had extorted from the *English Government* some fragments of her Rights, seemed ready in the same manner to demand the rest. ENGLAND, also, formed Societies, whose object was EMANCIPATION, but who hoped it might be obtained by *Reason*; Alas! they over-rated its force

The disarming Bills in IRELAND, the Treason and Sedition Bills in ENGLAND, and their consequences in both Countries, need hardly be mentioned. On the People they have brought Chains, on the Government irreconcilable Hatred. One good effect has, however, resulted from mutual Sufferings, and mutual Commiseration; the prejudice of Nations is done away, and the ENGLISH burn with desire to hail the IRISH, as *Free-men*, and as *Brethren*.

Our numbers are immense, our influence still more considerable, and our sentiments accord with yours. We are unthinned by the Tyranny of the Law or of the Sword; 'tis true, we have had our Fears and our Jealousies, *Spies* and *Informers* have been introduced amongst us, but all these have served only to point out more clearly the Men who are worthy of trust, and in these, whether Rich or Poor, we have the highest confidence.

OUR DELEGATE is entrusted to lay before you our whole proceedings; we, therefore decline entering into particulars in the present Address. We have reposed confidence in you, and shall expect such a return as you may think our Integrity and Talents deserve. We doubt not but you will, with us, see the propriety of establishing unlimited confidence, or declining our interference as fruitless. Should you think our situation, our influence, and our opportunities calculated to serve the Common Cause, rely upon our Diligence, our Zeal, and our Fidelity.

With best wishes, for the amelioration of the condition of Man, and hopes that your Exertions and Virtues, aided by an UNITED PEOPLE, WILL SPEEDILY EMANCIPATE YOUR COUNTRY; we remain in the bonds of BROTHERHOOD and UNION.

Your's Fraternall,!

Friday, January 5th, 1793.

(Seal.)

No. III.

Examination of Doctor William James M'Nevin.

TUESDAY, 7th AUGUST, 1798.

Doctor William James M'Nevin, sworn.

Q. WHEN did you become an United Irishman?

A. About September or October 1796, I became a member of the Close Society of United Irishmen. It consisted of societies at first composed of 36 Members, afterwards these societies were reduced to 12 members, each society of 12 chose a secretary, and generally a treasurer.

Q. What was the next higher society?

A. The secretaries of five societies formed a Lower Baronial Committee, out of each of the Lower Baronial Committees, one person was chosen to be a member of the Upper Baronial, each of the Upper Baronials consisted of ten members thus chosen. The next Superior Committees were, in populous towns, District Committees, and in counties, County Committees, these were composed of one member elected from each Baronial. The next Superior Committees were the provincial Committees, composed of two members, sometimes three, elected from each County Committee.

Q. How was the Executive chosen?

A. The Provincial Committees elected five persons by ballot: the secretary examined the ballots, and reported to the persons elected their appointment, but made no report of the election to the Provincials, who were thus kept in ignorance of the persons who composed the Executive. The Executive had the command of the whole body thus organized.

Q. How were the orders of the Executive communicated?

A. One member of the Executive communicated with one member of the Provincial Committee, he with the secretary of the County Committee, he in like manner, with the secretaries of the Baronials, and these secretaries with those of the subordinate societies.

Q. Was there any omission made in the last test?

A. In the last test the words were, "A full representation of all the people," omitting the words "in the Commons House of Parliament."

Q. Why was the omission made?

A. To reconcile reformers and republicans; and because they had given up all idea of Reform, and were determined on Republicanism.

Q. What was the organization originally?

A. At first it was purely a civil organization, but I believe it was military in Ulster about the latter end of 1796.

Q. What was the nature of the Military Organization?

A. The secretary of the society of twelve was the petty officer, that is, serjeant or corporal. The delegate of five societies to a Lower Baronial was usually the captain, and thus had sixty men under his command, and the delegate of ten Lower Baronials, to the Upper or District Committee, was usually the colonel. Thus a battalion was composed of six hundred men.

Q. In what manner were the higher officers or staff appointed?

A. The colonels of each county sent in the names of three persons to the Executive, one of whom was appointed, by the Executive, adjutant general of the county. His duty was to receive and communicate all military orders from the Executive.

Q. Was any attempt made to procure Irish officers who had served in foreign armies?

A. Such a plan was formed, but not proceeded on.

Q. Did they endeavour to prevail on French officers in England or Ireland to join them?

A. They did not.

Q. Were any attempts made to seduce the army or militia?

A. There were many.

Q. How were the finances of the society recruited;

A. Every member of the society paid a monthly subscription: This fund was applied to the support of prisoners in gaol, to defend them on their trials, and to extend the Union.

Q. How were arms and ammunition to be procured?

A. The general direction was for each person to arm himself, such as could afford it, with fire arms and ammunition, others with pikes.

Q. What was the object of the system?

A. To effect a revolution and establish a republic.

Q. How were emissaries appointed to extend the system?

A. They were selected by some confidential person in the different districts.

Q. How were the expences of the emissaries borne?

A. Out of the general fund.

Q. Were the Reports of the Secret Committee of the two Houses of Parliament last year accurate?

A. I believe they were accurate, save that they understated the number of men and arms.

Q. Do you know of any depots of arms or ammunition?

A. I do not ; each man concealed his own arms, and I believe there were many engaged in the system who were not armed.

Q. For what purpose were arms provided?

A. For the purpose of insurrection, and I think even after disarming the North, the people were much inclined to rise, but were prevented by a representation from the Irish National Executive Directory, that it would be absurd to rise, when their enemies were prepared, and that they might soon expect foreign assistance. I believe they retained more arms than were taken from them.

When did the Military Organization begin in Leinster?

A. In the beginning or middle of 1797.

Q. Was this organization made with the knowledge and approbation of the Irish National Executive Directory for the purpose of Rebellion and Revolution?

A. It was.

Q. When was the system introduced into Munster?

A. About twelve or eighteen months since, but it did not extend rapidly, it went on quietly.

Q. Was there any connection between the Union and the Scotch and English Societies.

A. There might have been some slight connection between the North and those societies, but there was no close connection between them and the Executive Directory of the Union. A person came from the Corresponding Society in London to Dublin with an address which I saw, but I did not see the person who brought it.

Q. How was the Military Committee appointed, and when?

A. It was appointed by the Executive Directory of the Union about February 1798.

Q. What was the Duty of this Committee?

A. To consider and digest such plans, and direct the national military force in such manner as might be necessary in case of insurrection ; and in case of invasion to co-operate with the French.

Q. Was any plan of insurrection formed, and when?

A. In April or May 1797, a plan of insurrection for the North was formed, and heads drawn up in writing, but it was soon given up, and the writing destroyed.

Q. Were any directions given by the Executive Directory of the Union to the members of it to abtain from the consumption of spirits and other exciseable goods?

A. There were , and it was recommended to stop the currency of Bank Notes, and not to purchase Quit Rents. A hand-bill to this purpose was circulated by order of the Executive Directory of the Union, stating that it was an anticipation of the public resources, which at the revolution would not be allowed to stand good.

Q. Have there been any communications between the Revolutionary Executive Directory of Ireland, and the Executive Directory of the French Republic?

A. There have:—Previous to 1796 some persons had gone from hence to France on account of their political opinions. Early in 1796 a letter came from one of them stating that the situation of this country had been represented to the Directory of the French Republic who had promised to invade Ireland, for the purpose of separating it from Great Britain. This letter was taken into serious consideration by the Irish Executive early in 1796, and an answer was sent in April that year accepting the proposal on condition that they should come as allies, to act under the directions of the projected revolutionary government, as Rochambeau did in America, that they should be paid the expences of the expedition, and their troops receive Irish pay whilst they acted here. This answer was sent to Paris by a special messenger, and the French Directory promised that the succours thus demanded should be sent.

About October or November 1796, a messenger came from France to the Irish Directory with intelligence that the promised succours might be speedily expected, and desiring to know the state of preparation of this country. The force to be sent by France was stated to be 15,000 men, and a great quantity of arms and ammunition, and I think if they had landed when they came to Bantry an insurrection would have taken place in the North of Ireland.

After the French expedition at Bantry had failed, there was no communication with the Executive Directory of the Irish Union till April 1797. Then an accredited resident minister or agent was sent by the Irish Directory to the Directory of France by way of Hamburgh.

Q. Have you heard that the Irish minister had a conference with General Hoche at Franckfort, and that the French minister at Hamburgh had given him a letter of introduction to General Hoche?

A. I may have heard so.

Q. How was the Irish minister received at Paris?

A. He was well received by the Directory at Paris, and continued the resident accredited minister of the National Executive Directory of Ireland, till February last. Since that time I cannot speak from my knowledge, having been arrested in March, under a warrant of the Secretary of State, and continued in confinement since.

Q. Did any confidential meeting take place soon after April 1797, between a person who went from hence, and a person in London, with respect to the dispositions of the French government?

A. I believe there did.

Q. When was the next communication with France?

A. The next communication of consequence was in June 1797, when an accredited person went from hence to communicate with the French Directory by their desire. He went by Hamburgh, where he saw the French minister, who made some difficulty about giving him a passport, and demanded a Memoir containing his instructions, which was accordingly written by the accredited person, and given to the French minister under the impression that the passport would not be granted.

The Memoir was written in English, and contained the objects of his mission according to the instructions which he had received from the Executive Directory of the Irish Union.

It begun by stating that the appearance of the French in Bantry Bay had encouraged the least confident of the Irish in the hope of throwing off the yoke of England, with the assistance of France. That the event of that expedition, had proved the facility of invading Ireland. That in the event of a second expedition, if the object was to take Cork, Oyster Haven would be the best place of debarkation. That the person who had been before accredited, was instructed to point out Oyster Haven as the best place of debarkation; and it stated the precautions which had been taken for defence, by throwing up works at Bantry, Fermoy, and Mal-low. It further stated that the system of United Irishmen, had made a rapid progress in the county of Cork, and that Bandon was become a second Belfast. That the system had made great progress in other counties, and that the people were now well inclined to assist the French. That 150,000 United Irishmen were organized and enrolled in Ulster, a great part of them regimented, and one third ready to march out of the province. It detailed the number of the king's forces in Ulster and their stations. Recommended Loughswilly as a place of debarkation in the North, and stated that the people in the Peninsula of Donegal would join the French. It stated also the strength of the garrison of Londonderry, and that one regiment, which made a part of it, was supposed to be disaffected to the King of Great Britain. It mentioned Killybegs also, as a good place of debarkation, and stated that the counties of Tyrone, Fermagh, and Monaghan were amongst the best affected to the cause. In case of a landing at Killybegs, it recommended a diversion at Sligo, and stated that a force of 10,000 United Irishmen might be collected to fall upon Enniskillen, which commanded the pass of Lough-erne. That it was easy to enter the bay of Galway, but very difficult to get out of it. That the counties of Louth, Armagh, Westmeath, Kildare, King's County, and City of Dublin, were the best organized. That the Catholic priests had ceased to be alarmed at the calumnies which had been propagated of French irreligion, and

were well affected to the cause. That some of them had rendered great service in propagating with discreet zeal the system of the Irish Union. It declared that the people of Ireland had a lively sense of gratitude to France for the part which she took, and also to Spain for the interest which she felt in the affairs of Ireland. It engaged on the part of the Irish National Executive Directory to reimburse the expences of France in the expedition which had failed, and of any other which might be undertaken. The number of troops demanded was a force not exceeding 10,000 nor less than 50,000 men. It stated that a brigade of English artillery had been already sent over, and that a large body of troops would probably be sent from Great Britain if Ireland was attacked. A considerable quantity of artillery and ammunition with a large staff and body of engineers, and as many Irish officers as possible, whose fidelity they were assured of, were demanded as necessary to accompany the expedition. A recommendation was given to separate the Irish seamen who were prisoners of war from the British, supposing the former would be ready to join in an expedition to liberate their country. It further recommended a proclamation to be published by the French general on his arrival here, that the French came as allies to deliver the country, not to conquer it. It also recommended to the Directory of the French Republic to make the independence of Ireland an indispensable condition of the treaty of peace then depending at Lisle, and stated that a proceeding so authentic, could not be disguised or misrepresented, and would very much encourage the people of Ireland to persist in their exertions to achieve a revolution. It contained also an assurance that the Irish militia would join the French if they landed in considerable force.

Immediately after this Memoir was given in to the French minister a passport was granted to the writer of it to go to Paris, where he had several conferences with persons of authority, some of them members of the Directory. The object of these conferences was to obtain the same assurances of succours from them that their agents had before given to the Executive Directory of the Irish Union.

The negotiation for peace was then going on at Lisle. He was told by persons in authority that they did not think the English cabinet sincere, but that if France could get the terms she had a right to expect, the Directory would make peace.

A second memoir was presented at Paris by the same person soon after his arrival there, its object was to impress on the Directory the necessity of expediting the armament for Ireland, and of insisting on the independence of Ireland as an indispensable condition of any treaty of peace, by every argument which the writer could use.

After the breaking off the negotiation, and Lord Malmesbury's return to England, assurances were given to the Irish Executive Directory, that the French Government would send a new expedition to Ireland, and that they never would abandon her, till she was separated from Great Britain, and these assurances have been since renewed.

Q. Was any information sent to the Irish Executive Directory of the Dutch armament in the Texel?

A. There was in July or August, and that it was destined for Ireland.

Q. Were there any accounts received from France since those you have mentioned?

A. There were several accounts between October 1797, and February 1798. The two first contained general renewals of their former assurances, the last a promise of the arrival of the expected armament here in April.

Q. Was any dispatch sent from Ireland to France during the last Winter?

A. There was a dispatch made up sometime in the last winter by the Irish Executive, and given to one member of it, who undertook to have it conveyed to France. The general import of this dispatch was to press for the promised succours; but the attempt to convey it to France failed.

Q. Were you a member of the Executive Revolutionary Directory of United Irishman?

A. I was.

Q. Do you speak with certainty of the mission to France in June 1797, and of what passed at Paris in consequence of it, and of the two memoirs?

A. I do.

Q. Have you read those memoirs?

A. I have.

Q. Do you know they were both delivered to the Executive Directory of the French Republic?

A. I do.

Q. How were the expences of the accredited Irish minister at Paris defrayed?

A. He took a considerable sum of money with him, either his own, or raised by a particular subscription; and it was intended to remit supplies to him when that was expended.

Q. Have you seen a resolution of the Leinster provincial Committee of the 19th of February 1798, the day on which Lord Moira made a motion in the House of Lords, "That they would not be diverted from their purpose, by any thing which could be done in Parliament, as nothing short of the total emancipation of their country would satisfy them?"

A. I have.

Q. Was it officially communicated by the Leinster Provincial Committee, to the Executive Directory of the Union?

A. It was.

Q. Do you know that the same resolution was agreed to on the same day by the Ulster Provincial Committee?

A. I do not know that it was, but I have heard and do believe it.

Q. Did you know that a Provincial meeting was to be held on Monday the 12th of March?

A. I did.

Q. What was the reform originally required by United Irishmen?

A. A democratic House of Commons,---they thought one aristocratic body in the State sufficient.

Q. Was any ecclesiastical establishment intended by the revolutionary government when it should be established.

A. No. I conceive that a revolution would of course involve the demolition of the church establishment, and of course a relief of the poor from tithes.

Q. Was it intended to have a Popish or Roman Catholic establishment?

A. The intention was to abolish the church establishment, and not to have any established religion, but that all persons should exercise their respective religion, and pay their own clergy: for my own part, I would as soon establish the Mahometan as the Popish religion, though I am myself a Roman Catholic.

Q. Do you know of any loan negotiated with France or Spain?

A. Yes; the agent of the National Executive Directory who was sent over in April 1797, was instructed to negotiate a loan of half a million, or 300,000*l.* if it could be got from France or Spain.

Q. Have you any doubt of the sincerity of France?

A. I have not; I believe inability alone has prevented France from invading Ireland.

Q. Do you think the mass of the people in the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, care the value of this pen, or the drop of ink which it contains, for Parliamentary Reform or Catholic Emancipation?

A. I am sure they do not; but they wish much to be relieved from the payment of tithes.

Q. How do you account for the cruelties lately exercised by the Rebels on Protestants?

A. If the National Executive Directory could have prevented it, I believe they would; but the lower order of Catholic consider Protestant and Englishman, that is, English settler, as synonymous, and as their natural enemy---the same Irish word (*Saíena*) signifies both.

Examination of Arthur O'Connor; Esq.

THURSDAY, 9th AUGUST, 1798.

Arthur O'Connor, Esq. sworn.

Q. When did you become an United Irishman?

A. About November, 1796.

Q. When did the military organization begin?

A. About the middle of 1796.

Q. Were you a member of the Executive Directory of United Irishmen?

A. I was, and continued so from November, 1796, till January, 1798.

Q. When did the communications with France commence?

A. Before I was an United Irishman; I believe in the middle of 1796, about the same time the military organization commenced.

Q. When was it agreed to accept the offer of assistance from France?

A. I understood it was accepted at a meeting of the Executive Directory of the Irish Union, in Summer 1796. I was apprized of the offer and acceptance by my brother members of the Executive Directory after I became a member of it, and before the arrival of the French in Bantry Bay.

Q. Was it the determination of the United Irishmen in the North to rise if the French had landed?

A. The Executive Directory of the Union thought they would rise if a landing of the French had taken place.

Q. When was the first communication from France, after the expedition to Bantry Bay?

A. The first which of my own knowledge I can speak, was in August 1797. It stated that a fleet lay in the Texel with fifteen thousand men on board, and that the armament was destined for Ireland. I was arrested in this city under a secretary's warrant, and in confinement for some months before that time.

Q. Was it mentioned to the Irish Executive where the descent was intended to be made?

A. It was not in the dispatch which I saw.

Q. Was there any intelligence brought of the intended invasion at Bantry?

A. There was, by a messenger who arrived here about November 1796.

Q. Was there a resident agent appointed to go to Paris in Spring 1797?

A. There was, whilst I was in prison, and a second person was sent in June following.

Q. Did you see this person on his return to Ireland from France?

A. I did about November 1797. He reported to the Executive Directory, that no armament was then ready, but that one would shortly be ready.

Q. Did you understand that when a French fleet was ready, the expedition would take place?

A. I did.

Q. Have you heard that there were some conversations on this subject, between persons of this country and General Valence, prior to October 1796?

A. I have heard there were; they did not, however, lead to any thing decisive.

Q. Was there any connexion with the English or Scotch societies?

A. Any connexion with them was merely between individuals. The Irish Executive Directory wished to keep clear of them.

Q. Do you know of any loan being negotiated with France or Spain?

A. Instructions were given to the agent of the Irish Executive Directory, to negotiate a loan of half a million, in France or Spain, on the security of the Revolutionary Government when it should be established.

Q. Was your situation in the Executive Directory of the Irish Union filled up, when you left Ireland in January last?

A. It was.

No. V.

Examination of Samuel Neilson.

THURSDAY, 9th AUGUST, 1798.

Samuel Neilson, sworn.

Q. When did you become a member of the society of United Irishmen?

A. In October 1791 I became a member of the original society.

Q. When did the present organization commence?

A. In Spring 1792 the affiliated system of organization commenced, and has gradually increased since that time.

Q. When was the organization completed in Ulster?

A. On the tenth of May 1795.

Q. When did the affiliation begin between Ulster and the rest of the kingdom?

A. From the time that the system commenced, emissaries were sent to every part of the kingdom for the purpose of extending it.

Q. What was the object then?

A. I think to alarm Government into a compliance with their objects.

Q. When did the military organization begin at Ulster?

A. In Autumn 1796.

Q. What was the object of the military organization?

A. The object was to carry their measures by force.

Q. Do you know any thing of the correspondence carried on with France?

A. Previous to my being arrested, which happened in September in 1796, I had heard of communications with France, and a probability of the negotiations for assistance being successful.

Q. When were you liberated, and on what condition?

A. I was liberated in January or February last, on condition that I should not belong to any treasonable committee.

Q. After you were liberated, did you hear of any intended attempt on Dublin or Lehaunstown Camp?

A. I did not till after the arrests of Bond's on the 12th of March.

Q. After that, were you very active in advising the filling up the vacancies in the several departments of the Irish Union, which you supposed had taken place in consequence of those arrests?

A. I was.

Q. Had you then any information of an intended insurrection?

A. Soon after I discovered that an insurrection was decided upon, and I meant to have given my advice and assistance in it.

Q. Was there a letter from John Sheares who was lately convicted of treason, and executed, found in your pocket, when you were last arrested?

A. There was.

Q. What was the purport of that letter?

A. To dissuade me from attacking Kilmainham gaol.

Q. Was there any intention of attacking Newgate?

A. I believe there was an intention of attacking it on the night I was arrested, the 23d of May, 1798, in order to liberate Lord Edward Fitzgerald. I believe some hundreds were assembled at the Barley Fields for that purpose. They considered that Lord Edward would be a very valuable leader, and that he would have led the Rebels in Leinster. All the delegates looked to him as their leader. I have delivered several messages from him to different committees. Lord Edward and I were stopped by a patrol at Palmerstown not long before, and liberated by mistake.

Q. Were Lord Edward Fitzgerald and the Sheares's acquainted with each other?

A. They were, and knew each other's political opinions.

For some time before Lord Edward's arrest, he was almost constantly employed in consultations with military men, and in forming plans of military operations.

I believe latterly Lord Edward was rather afraid of invasion, lest the French would conquer Ireland, and therefore urged on the insurrection.

Q. Have you had any interview with Mr. Grattan since you were liberated from confinement?

A. I was twice with Mr. Grattan at Tinnehinch, in April 1798. I either shewed Mr. Grattan the last constitution of the society of United Irishmen, or explained it to him, and pressed him to come forward. I was accompanied at these interviews by John Sweetman and Oliver Bond: but I do not believe Mr. Grattan was ever an United Irishman.

Q. Do you mean John Sweetman, who is now in custody on a charge of treason, and has with others of the state prisoners submitted to the mercy of Government?

A. I do.

Q. Did you know of any depots of arms or ammunition?

A. I believe there never were any---The arms were in the hands of the people and they hid them; this was considered the safest method.

Q. It has been stated to this committee, that you have said you swore Mr. Grattan?

A. I never did swear Mr. Grattan, nor have I ever said that I swore him.

Q. When did the manufacture of pikes begin?

A. About the time of the military organization.

Says, the Convention Bill was calculated to meet every part of the system of United Irishmen. When he read it, he supposed the framer of the bill had their constitution before him whilst he was drawing it.

Says, Ulster is not so well organized as it was a year ago.

Says, many people joined the United Irishmen, supposing them to be the strongest party in the state; and if their affairs had been well conducted, he thinks they would have become the government of the country. Being desired to explain himself, he said, latterly their affairs have been much misconducted, because the ablest men amongst them have been either arrested, or obliged to fly. If they had remained at large, is of opinion they must have succeeded.

Says, that till the last two months, he did not consider Government to be well informed, but the late arrests convinced him they were.

By a letter addressed to the Lord Chancellor, by Samuel Neilson, immediately after his examination; he wishes to correct his evidence, by stating, that he had another interview with Mr. Grattan at Tinnehinch, in company with Mr. John Hughes, and that they both went there in Mr. Sweetman's chaise.

No. VI.

Examination of Thomas-Addis Emmett, Esquire.

SATURDAY, 11th AUGUST, 1798.

Thomas-Eddis Emmett, Esq. Sworn.

Q. Did you belong to the society of United Irishmen?

A. I did.

Q. Were you a member of the Executive Directory of that society?

A. I was,--I was first appointed in January 1797, and continued a Member of it till May 1797---I then ceased to be a member of the Directory till December last, when I was elected a second time and I continued a member till my arrest in March last.

Q. When did the military organization take place?

A. I have heard that it commenced the beginning or middle of 1796.

Q. What was the object of the military organization?

A. Its object was to prepare for resistance, and effect a revolution.

Q. Was this organization known to the Executive Directory of the Union?

A. It was known to and had the approbation of the Executive, as returns of men and arms were regularly made to them. The last military organization proceeded immediately from the Executive Directory.

Q. When did the first communication with France take place?

A. The first I heard of took place about the middle of 1796. This was in consequence of an offer of assistance from France. This offer was in consequence of representations made by persons of this country, resident at Paris. It was taken into serious

consideration in summer 1796, and accepted by the Irish Executive Directory.

The first communication with France, of which I can speak from my own particular knowledge, was in April 1797. This was an effort to establish a permanent intercourse with the French Directory, to give them an account of the number of troops here, and of their situation, and of the dispositions of the people; and to solicit the aid of limited number of troops, with arms and ammunition. A special messenger was sent on this occasion, who has continued the resident accredited agent of the Irish Executive Directory at Paris, and has been supported from hence by private subscriptions.

Q. Were any dispatches received from this agent?

A. In some time after his arrival at Paris, he sent assurances to the Executive, of assistance from the French, and that they would continue it till Ireland was separated from Great Britain.

Q. When did the next communication with France take place?

A. In June 1797, a second messenger was dispatched. He was sent in consequence of an application from the French Directory, to arrange every thing for an invasion of this kingdom; his instructions were pretty much the same as those of the former, but he was to require a greater quantity of arms. This additional supply of arms was demanded, principally in consequence of the seizure of arms in the North, which had been made by order of government.

Q. Was any communication made to the Executive Directory of the United Irishmen, relative to the armament in the Texel?

A. I am pretty certain a communication was made in the summer of 1797, that the armament in the Texel was destined for Ireland.

Q. Was any dispatch received from France in the last winter?

A. A dispatch arrived in the last winter from the French Directory, to inform the Executive Directory here, that an armament would arrive on the Irish coast in the month of April 1798. No mention was made of the amount of the force to be sent, nor of the place of debarkation, as they were assured by the Irish Executive, that wherever they landed they would be supported.

Q. How do you account for the people being so loyal and well disposed, while the French were in Bantry Bay?

A. About November 1796, a messenger arrived here from France, who stated that a descent would immediately be made with 15,000 men---In a very few days after this messenger had quitted Ireland on his return, a letter arrived, which was considered, by the Irish Executive as authentic, stating, that the expedition was

deferred till Spring, when England would be invaded, and probably Ireland: This contradiction threw the Executive off their guard, in consequence of which, no measures were taken to prepare the people for the reception of the French army. The people were left to themselves.

Q. Was any dispatch sent from this kingdom to France in the last winter?

A. About the beginning of January or the latter end of December, a dispatch was made up by the Executive and intended to be transmitted to the Directory, but the attempt failed. I perceive the tendency of that question---but I desire to be understood, that that dispatch was not meant to be sent through England.

Q. When was the Revolutionary Staff appointed?

A. It was appointed for Leinster in January or February, 1798. It was thought necessary to have an Adjutant General in each county, to receive and communicate military orders from the Executive Directory.

Q. What was the mode of appointment?

A. The Colonels of each county returned the names of three persons to the Executive, who appointed one of them to act as Adjutant General of the county.

Q. What was the purpose of the military organization, and preparations?

A. To assist the French when they should land, and effect a Revolution.

Q. When was the Military Committee appointed?

A. I believe, in February 1798.

Q. What was the duty of the Military Committee?

A. Their Duty was to prepare a plan of co-operation with the French when they should land, or of insurrection in case they should be forced to it before the arrival of the French, which they were determined to avoid if possible. I believe the insurrection, which has taken place, was brought forward by the military severities which were exercised in the county of Kildare, and if the arrests had not taken place it would have been kept back, by the persons who were arrested, till the French should arrive, as it was their determination to wait for assistance from France, before any open attack should be made by the people. If the French had arrived at the appointed time, I am certain there would have been a very general and formidable insurrection in every part of the country.

Q. Was John Sheares a member of the Executive before your arrest?

A. He was not.

Q. Have you heard that he was elected a member of the Executive Directory after your arrest?

A. I have not ; but it is possible he may.

Q. Have you seen the Revolutionary Proclamation which was drawn by John Sheares, and proved at his trial ?

A. I have and I very much disapprove of it. The old Executive never meant to spill blood, but rather to retain men of a certain rank as hostages, and if they found them hostile to the Revolutionary Government, to send them out of the country---And it was also determined, that if the wives of such persons did not act with hostility to the new Government, they should be allowed a maintenance out of the husband's property, and that each child should have a portion : The residue to belong to the nation.

Q. Did the arrests of the 12th of March tend to disorganize the system ?

A. They did ; the principal members of the Union were either confined or fled in consequence of the arrests.

Q. Did you think the mass of the people care for Catholic Emancipation or Parliamentary Reform ?

A. I believe the mass of the people do not care a feather for Catholic Emancipation, neither did they care for Parliamentary Reform, till it was explained to them as leading to other objects which they looked to, principally the abolition of tithes. I am very sure if tithes were abolished, the people, on taking new leases, would be obliged to pay more in proportion for lands than the value they now pay for tithes---My wish was to destroy the present established church, and to have no church establishment. The people were also taught to consider that when they became members of a Democracy, their condition would be bettered.

Q. Was any Ecclesiastical Establishment intended by the Revolutionary Government ?

A. None, *certainly*.

Q. How do you suppose it possible for Ireland to remain a free country, unconnected with Great Britain ?

A. Ireland is now in a very different situation from that in which she stood at the Revolution ; I think she has grown out of her connection with Great Britain.

Q. Explain yourself ?

A. At the Revolution, her population did not much exceed a million and a half ; now it amounts to five millions. Her wealth has increased in a greater proportion—I am therefore of opinion, that she is capable now of standing alone.

Q. Do you not think it a wiser and a fairer policy to abide by that connexion, by which her wealth and population have grown so rapidly ?

A. I do not ; I think this might be the happiest country in the world, if she was established as an independent republic.

Q. How could she exist as an independent state unconnected with Britain, without a ship of war, or the means of having one ? Twelve British frigates stationed on her coasts, could annihilate the trade of Ireland. How could England distress her in the single article of coals ?

A. I think Ireland would be very much crippled for some years, but if she were separated from Great Britain, the colossal strength of the British navy would very quickly be reduced. And as to the supply of coals, I think by extending our inland navigation, we could be supplied with fuel at home.

No. VII.

Examination of Oliver Bond.

TUESDAY, 14th AUGUST, 1798:*Oliver Bond, Sworn.*

Q. Were you an United Irishman?

A. I was, and continued so till the time of my arrest.

Q. Were you a member of the Executive Directory of the Irish Union?

A. I was not regularly a member of the Executive; I was originally associated with the Northern Executive in 1796, and acted under that association in conducting the affairs of the Union.--- When the Leinster organization was completed early in 1797, I was regularly elected a member of the Executive, but declined to act officially; I, however, continued in the confidence of the Union, and was consulted by them on all affairs of moment.

Q. Did you know any thing of the correspondence with France?

A. I did before the Leinster organization was completed in 1797; but I knew nothing of it officially after I declined being a member of the Executive Directory.

Q. When was the first communication with France?

A. The first I knew of was about the middle of 1796.---A person was then sent to France to sound the dispositions of the Directory, and to know what assistance they would give.

Q. When did the military organization commence?

A. It commenced in the North late in 1796, and in Dublin in Spring 1797.

Q. How was the system propagated?

A. By emissaries sent into the different counties, with letters, to such resident persons as were likely to forward the system, and had influence in the district.

Q. When was the society of United Irishmen instituted?

A. It was originally instituted in 1791, for the purpose of Reform---Catholic Emancipation was a mere pretence.

Q. Do you think the mass of the people care for Parliamentary Reform?

A. I believe the mass of the people did not, nor do not, care for Parliamentary Reform---but those who thought for them did.

Q. Were the reports of the secret committees of last session accurate?

A. I think they were.

Q. How did you get the letters of Smith and Newel?

A. They were left with me by the persons who got them up from them by negotiation.

Q. Was not the object of the Union, to arm and regiment the people, for the purpose of subverting the government?

A. Latterly it was.

Q. Were there any depots of arms?

A. There were not.

Q. For what purpose was the newspaper called the Press set up?

A. I believe to forward the cause of the Union.

Q. Was it an object of the Union to abolish all ecclesiastical establishments?

A. It was a principal object.

Q. Was there any person sent from Dublin to organize the South?

A. There was last Winter; and I understood he had made considerable progress in Limerick and other places.

Q. Did you understand that Connaught in general was well organized?

A. I understood it was.

Q. Do you think the places in the Executive Directory and the other departments of the Irish Union, of those who were arrested on the 12th of March, were filled up after that arrest?

A. I believe they were.

No. VIII.

Copy of a paper found in the writing box of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, on the 12th of March, by the Officer who went on that day to arrest him under a Charge of Treason.

N. B. This does not appear amongst the papers seized on Lord Edward Fitzgerald, which are contained in the Appendix to the Report of the House of Commons.

IF ever any unfortunate cause should put our city, with the other parts of the country, into the possession of a cruel and tyrannical enemy, whose government, by repeated oppressions, might drive us into the last stage of desperate resistance, our conduct then should be regulated in a manner best calculated for obtaining victory.

*The following thoughts are humbly offered
for the inspection of every real Irishman.*

It is supposed that the enemy have a well-appointed and disciplined standing army.

In such a case every man ought to consider how that army could be attacked or repelled, and what advantage their discipline and numbers might give them in a populous city, acting in concert with the adjoining counties.

It is well known that an officer of any skill in his profession, would be very cautious of bringing the best disciplined troops into a large city in a state of insurrection, for the following reasons :

His troops, by the breadth of the streets, are obliged to have a very narrow front, and however numerous, only three men deep can be brought into action, which in the widest of our streets cannot be more than sixty men, as a space must be left on each side or flank, for the men who discharge, to retreat to the rear, that their places may be occupied by the next in succession, who are loaded; so, though there are a thousand men in the street, not more than sixty can act at one time; and should they be attacked by an irregular body armed with pikes, or such bold weapons, if the sixty men in front were defeated, the whole body, however numerous, are unable to assist, and immediately become a small mob in uniform, from the inferiority of number, in comparison to the people, and easily disposed of.

Another inconvenience might destroy the order of this army.—Perhaps at the same moment they may be dreadfully galled from the house-tops by showers of bricks, coping stones, &c. which may be at hand, without imitating the women of Paris, who carried the stones of the unpaved streets to the windows and tops of the houses in their aprons.

Another disadvantage on the part of the soldiers, would be, as they are regulated by the word of command, or stroke of the drum, they must be left to their individual discretion, as such communications must be drowned in the noise and clamour of a popular tumult.

In the next place, that part of the populace, who could not get into the engagement, would be employed in unpaving the streets, so as to impede the movements of horse or artillery; and in the avenues where the army were likely to pass, numbers would be engaged forming barriers of hogsheds, carts, cars, counters, doors, &c. the forcing of which barriers, by the army would be disputed, while like ones, were forming at every twenty or thirty yards or any convenient distances, situation might require; should such precautions be well observed, the progress of an army, through one street or over one bridge would be very tedious, and attended with great loss, if it would not be destroyed; at the same time the neighbouring counties might rise in a mass and dispose of the troops scattered in their vicinity, and prevent a junction or a passage of any army intended for the city; they would tear up the roads and barricade every convenient distance with trees, timber, implements of husbandry, &c. at the same time lining the hedges, walls, ditches and houses, with men armed with muskets, who would keep up a well-directed fire.

However well exercised standing armies are supposed to be, by frequent reviews, and sham battles, they are never prepared for broken roads, or enclosed fields, in a country like ours covered with innumerable and continued interfections of ditches and hedges, every one of which are an advantage to an irregular body, and may

with advantage be disputed, against an army as so many fortifications and entrenchments.

The people in the city would have an advantage by being armed with pikes or such weapons, the first attack if possible should be made by men whose pikes were nine or ten feet long, by that means they could act in ranks deeper than the soldiery, whose arms are much shorter, than the deep files of the pike men, by being weightier, must easily break the thin order of the army.

The Charge of the pike men, should be made in a smart trot, on the flank or extremity of every rank, there should be intrepid men placed to keep the fronts even, that at closing every point should tell together; they should have at the same time, two or three like bodies at convenient distances in the rear, who would be brought up if wanting to support the front, which would give confidence to their brothers in action, as it would tend to discourage the enemy, at the same time there should be in the rear of each division, some men of spirit to keep the ranks as close as possible.

The apparent strength of the army should not intimidate, as closing on it makes its powder and ball useless, all its superiority is in fighting at a distance, all its skill ceases, and all its action must be suspended, when it once is within the reach of the pike.

The reason of printing and writing this, is to remind the people, of discussing military subjects.

THE END.



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OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

ON THE

IRISH REBELLION.

1844

Report of the

THE

COMMISSIONERS



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